

Message Text

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ACTION SP-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 NEA-10 AF-06 INR-07

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PRS-01 SAJ-01 /085 W

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R 211825Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7061

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 01983

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR-US

SUBJECT: US-FRENCH PLANNING TALKS

REF: A. PARIS 1730; B. STATE 9349; C. PARIS 30248
(1975)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THIS CABLE DISCUSSES THE LINE WE THINK THE FRENCH MAY TAKE ON CERTAIN AGENDA ITEMS DURING THE PLANNING TALKS, AND IT SUGGESTS TOPICS THAT MIGHT BE USEFULLY DEVELOPED BY S/P WITH CAP. TOGETHER WITH REF A, IT REPRESENTS OUR RESPONSE TO REF B, PARA 3. END SUMMARY.

2. DETENTE - THE SOBERING EXPERIENCE OF GISCARD'S LAST VISIT TO MOSCOW HAS LEFT GOF AS A WHOLE IN A QUANDARY AS TO HOW TO PROCEED IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. BY THE TIME THE MEETING WITH THE CAP TAKES PLACE, THE RESULTS OF THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS IN MOSCOW WILL HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO CLARIFYING THE ISSUES TO BE FACED BY GISCARD IN THE COMING YEAR AND WILL HELP PAVE THE WAY FOR HIS OWN DECISIONS AS TO THE TONE AND LEVEL OF RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. CERTAINLY THE FRENCH WILL ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN "NORMAL" EXCHANGES. ON THE OTHER HAND GISCARD'S STOUT INSISTENCE ON THE
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IMPORTANCE OF LINKING "IDEOLOGICAL" WITH

"MILITARY" DETENTE, HIS EMPHASIS ON BUILDING EUROPE, AND FRANCE'S REFUSAL THESE DAYS TO SUPPRESS NEWS OR OTHER EVENTS UNHELPFUL TO THE USSR (PLYOUTCH, FRENCH TV CONDUCT, ETC.) WILL ALL CONTRIBUTE TO BLOCKING AN EARLY REVIVAL OF ANY "PRIVILEGED" RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE USSR. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PROBE CAP THINKING ON FUTURE DIRECTION OF GOF ON DETENTE.

3. MEDITERRANEAN - SEE REF C, PARA 3A AND SEPTTEL ON ELYSEE VIEWS OF THIS SUBJECT.

4. MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS - ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THE CAP WILL WANT OUR DETAILED ASSESSMENT, INCLUDING NEXT STEPS IN THE SETTLEMENT EFFORT, AND ON THE LEBANESE SITUATION, AND WOULD LISTEN MORE SYMPATHETICALLY THAN IN THE PAST TO ANY U.S. SUGGESTIONS FOR FRENCH ACTION TO SUPPORT OUR COMMON INTERESTS.

5. INDIAN OCEAN - SEE REF C, PARA 3B.

6. AFRICA - CAP BELIEVES THAT THE NORTH AFRICAN (ALGERIA), SOUTHERN AFRICAN (ANGOLA) AND INDIAN OCEAN (SOMALIA AND TFAI) ITEMS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED JOINTLY IN AN EFFORT TO EXAMINE SOVIET INTENTIONS IN AFRICA. THE FRENCH WONDER WHETHER THERE IS SOME NEW SOVIET GRAND DESIGN FOR THE AFRICAN REGION AND IF SO, HOW IT MAY RELATE TO DETENTE ELSEWHERE. THIS RELATES TO PARA 2 ABOVE. THEY WILL WANT TO HEAR OUR ASSESSMENT AND WILL BE OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS FOR INCREASED INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGES AND FOR CONSIDERING COMMON POLICIES TO COUNTER ANY PERCEIVED SOVIET THREATS IN THE REGION.

7. NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE: IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE GOF HAS ANY CLEAR STRATEGY TOWARD THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE; ITS EXPECTATIONS ARE PROBABLY LIMITED TO ADVANCING ITS OWN IDEAS AND/OR PROTECTING ITS INTERESTS AS THE OCCASION NEEDS. ON CERTAIN
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ELEMENTS OF THE DIALOGUE, THESE FRENCH IDEAS WILL DIVERGE FROM OURS (ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE THAT THE IMPETUS FOR THIS WOULD IN MOST CASES COME FROM THE REST OF THE QUAI OR GOF BUREAUCRACY RATHER THAN THE CAP). IN PARTICULAR, THE GOF IS MORE OPEN TO IDEAS OF AN OIL PRICE NEGOTIATION (EVEN USING PRESENT PRICES AS A BASE) AND THE UNCTAD INTEGRATED COMMODITIES PROGRAM. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO

JUSTIFY OUR POSITIONS ON THESE SUBJECTS WITH
APPROPRIATE ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. DE MONTBRIAL AND

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7062

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 01983

HIS COLLEAGUES WILL PROBABLY PROVIDE A SYMPATHETIC
AUDIENCE, AND WE SHOULD GIVE THEM ARGUMENTS THEY
COULD USE ON RETURN TO PARIS.

8. STANDARDIZATION - GOF OFFICIALS SEEM TO BE
TAKING CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO FEBRUARY MEETING WITH
OTHER EUROPEANS ON ARMAMENT COOPERATION (E.G.
PARIS 31853 AND PARIS 32712 OF 1975). WE UNDER-
STAND THAT CAP HAS PREPARED PAPERS ON STANDARDIZA-
TION AND ON EUROPEAN ARMAMENT COOPERATION. WE
HOPE THAT S/P CAN EXPLORE CAP VIEWS ON WHERE FRENCH
SEE EUROPEANS GOING IN AREA OF ARMAMENT COOPERATION,
AND WHETHER THIS TYPE OF INTRA-EUROPEAN COOPERATION
CAN LEAD -- IN FRENCH EYES -- TO A MORE CLOSELY
KNIT FORM OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION THAT IS
COMPATIBLE WITH OUR APPROACH TO ATLANTIC DEFENSE.

9. FRENCH DEFENSE POLICY - GISCARD SEEMS TO BE
FOCUSING GROWING ATTENTION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN
AREA AS A MAJOR ZONE FOR FRENCH POLITICAL/MILITARY

INTEREST. THE CONCRETE PURPOSES FOR WHICH GISCARD
INTENDS FRANCE'S MILITARY FORCES IN THAT AREA REMAIN
OBSURE, HOWEVER. ARE THESE PURPOSES YET CLEAR
IN FRENCH MINDS? IF SO, ARE THEY COMPATIBLE WITH
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OTHER WESTERN AND U.S. INTERESTS IN THE AREA? IF
NOT, MIGHT THE UNCERTAINTY OF FRENCH PURPOSES
FURTHER DESTABILIZE AN ALREADY FRAGMENTING AREA?
THE CAP MIGHT HAVE SOME INSIGHT ON SUCH QUESTIONS.

10. FRENCH TACTICAL NUCLEAR DOCTRINE - THE CAP
(PRINCIPALLY GERGORIN) IS INTRIGUED BY THE CHALLENGE
OF DESIGNING A TACTICAL NUCLEAR DOCTRINE TO MATCH
FRANCE'S STOCKPILE OF AIR AND GROUND TAC NUKE
WEAPONS. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO EXPLORE THIS
SUBJECT WITH THE CAP, PARTICULARLY THEIR THINKING
ON THE SUBJECT OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR
CARRIER-BASED AIRCRAFT OF FRENCH NAVY INCLUDING
IMPLICATION THIS HOLDS FOR OVERALL FRENCH STRATEGIC
CONSIDERATIONS.

11. INDO-CHINA - CAP WILL PROBABLY REPEAT VIEWS
ON INDO-CHINA THEY EXPRESSED IN THE HABIB/NORVILLE
TALKS OF NOVEMBER 5. THEY WILL JUSTIFY GOF EFFORTS
TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH A UNITED VIETNAM ON GROUNDS
OF CONCERN FOR THEIR CITIZENS (MOSTLY OF ASIAN ORIGIN)
AND FRENCH BUSINESS PROPERTY IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND
BELIEF THAT DYNAMISM OF THE VIETNAMESE CHARACTER--AS
WELL AS MILITARY STRENGTH-- WILL GIVE VIETNAM A
MAJOR ROLE IN SEA. CAP MAY CLAIM THAT VIETNAM IS
CONCERNED BASICALLY WITH THE REUNIFICATION OF
VIETNAM AND ITS RECONSTRUCTION AND MINIMIZE VIETNAM
HEGEMONY IN LAOS AND INVOLVEMENT IN THAI INSURGENCY.
SOME CONSIDER THAT VIETNAM WILL SHOW ITS DYNAMISM
ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT AS "LEADER" OF THE ASIAN
NON-ALIGNED. SOME FRENCH HAVE ARGUED THAT THE U.S.
SHOULD FAVOR A STRONG VIETNAM DOMINATING THE ENTIRE
PENINSULA AS A MEANS OF "CONTAINING" CHINA; WE
DOUBT CAP WILL DO SO.

WE THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR S/P TO NOTE THAT U.S.
AND FRENCH INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY INDEPENDENT
COUNTRIES ON THE PENINSULA AND IN THE REST OF
SOUTHEAST ASIA, NOT THE EXTENSION OF VIETNAMESE--OR
CHINESE--HEGEMONY. WHILE HANOI HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED
(TO COURCEL MISSION) HOSTILITY TOWARD THE RTG AS
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NOT BEING "WITHIN THE CURRENT OF HISTORY", PEKING'S
RESPONSE HAS BEEN MORE PROMISING. U.S. THEREFORE
REMAINS CONCERNED LEST VN PROVIDE MILITARY AS
WELL AS POLITICAL SUPPORT TO INSURGENT MOVEMENTS
IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS
ON THE TYPE OF DOUBLE GAME, WHICH MAY BE PRACTICED
BY BOTH PEKING AND HANOI, OF RELATIONS WITH
CURRENT GOVERNMENTS AND SUPPORT FOR LOCAL COMMUNIST
MOVEMENTS, SHOULD BE PROFITABLE. CAP WOULD
WELCOME AN EXPOSITION OF U.S. EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING
RELATIONS WITH HANOI SINCE THE FRENCH PRESS HAS
GREATLY MAGNIFIED THE DRV ASSERTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL
FIGURES THAT THE DRV WISHES GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE
U.S. AND ONLY THE USG'S HOSTILITY PREVENTS "THE
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS."
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